



■ PANEL:

**“HIGHRISE LIVING AND URBAN TRANSFORMATIONS:
towards a built-high gentrification?”**

TOPICAL CATEGORY: Claiming Rights to the City

**Real Estate and Stakeholders’ Role in the Creation of Lifestyles: The Co-Production of
Urban Spaces of Public and Private Life ****

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ABSTRACT

Investment of private capital for the maintenance of public spaces has become a usual practice in cities, from large metropolises to smaller ones, with the counterpart of temporary or permanent branding. In some cases, private events are organized in these spaces, stimulating uses and practices conditioned by consumption, with the partnership of municipalities. How does this process become significant to the production of urban space, once investments in spaces of public life come from the same source as the spaces of private life? Are we witnessing a new form of build-in gentrification, of all-enclosed buildings signs of a growing exclusion in the so called ‘neoliberal’ entrepreneurial city?. Real estate and property developers have recently earned a great participation in the dissemination, reproduction and maintenance of certain urban practices in a territory previously not dominated by them: the public space. Thus, one wonders: Is this process representative of an attempt to create and reinforce certain urban lifestyles? In what ways do certain residential high-rise housing typologies dialogue with the spaces of public life, conditioning certain activities to or withdrawing them from it? Taking the city of São Paulo as a sample of this process, this article aims to explore aspects of the process of territorialization of these companies in urban public spaces, consequences to public life and to discuss the regulations that make this practice possible, as well as the relationship (and counter-relationships) of this type of “street marketing” with the high-rise residential buildings produced by them.

Keywords: highrise, public spaces, street marketing and urban branding, real state market, process of absorption

Publicity in public urban spaces have become a common practice since the companies started to view the urban space as a field for brand exposition. Since industrial development enabled that many producers created products with a similar quality, a strong competition forced them to change their marketing strategy altering their focus from quality patterns to a direct contact between producer and consumer through their brands. In this new strategy the quality of very similar products, from different producers, became attested by a symbol (the brand), affecting and seducing consumers by emotional and personal connections.

At the mid-late 20th century, due to important transformations in the industrial processes, industrial plants migrate to outer regions of the city with better conditions to their development. As a consequence, in one hand, industrial activities decreased significantly in urban areas, on the other, many cities were transformed from the space of production to the space of consumption (Muñoz, 2009). So far, cities have become the stage for brands to catch and trap potential consumers into their realms, stimulating the consumption through a day-by-day appeal in places of great flow of people and directly associated to daily activities and trajects - like buses, metroways, bus stations etc. The system behind that, of course, has a counterpart: less costs to the public system to operate those lines or the transference of maintaining (and sustaining) areas and objects of the city for this publicity - the company profits from its publicity and the State saves money that would be invested in the city.

Therefore, under public health guidances and urban regulations, policies were created globally (from megalopolis to inner cities, in developed or underdeveloped countries) to deal with publicity and the urban space. Laws that established limits to the dimensions of publicity boards (seller advertisements) on the facades; that prevents the creation of new surfaces for publicity (like billboards); that restricted the use of sound machines in crowded places to advertise a new product or event; or laws that, instead of forbidding, allows for new forms of publicity in bus stops, metro lines, urban clocks, green areas, public spaces and even public restrooms (like São Paulo), opening up a new frontier of commodification of the urban space.

This relationship between advertisement - consumption-led information - and the urban space leads to a variety of correlations between particular individuals and inhabitants (in the same urban context)¹ and the space itself. Harvey (2002) will state that we are experiencing space-time compression (in relation both to the shortening of distances and the high increase of information and data that we have to deal with daily. Bauman (2008) states that this amount of information created a society of oblivion, in which people have to develop skills on forgetting in order to deal with the increase and arrival of new possibilities of experiencing in the contemporary. Having Pardo and his concept of banalization as a reference, Muñoz will pose the notion of containerization of the urban space and a city to be consumed on partial time (Muñoz, 2008). Through the stress of compression and the exit of forgetfulness we developed practices (that some may qualify as skills) to survive in this offensive environment, for instance privatizing our personal spaces into cell phones even when in the presence of other people, or

¹ In our understanding there are specific ways in which each individual may interact with the space, as well as other ways he/she may interact as part of a society/group/identification in relation to the space. A certain type of publicity may be good or bad, for someone taste, regarding, for example, "location" or "spatial arrangement" in which the advertisement is settled - like advertisement in bus stops; there is also the relationship between "society" and "space" in which some cultures are more open to advertisements than others - like the East cultures of Japan and China, where we do not observe any movement, any resistance against advertisement. Moreover, we have been observing that "advertisement" (including the one in public spaces) have grew constantly in the past years, as part of a logic of acceleration of consuming cycles. To us, it impacts the way on which we relate ourselves not only to information sources (like TV, internet etc.) but also in the way we relate ourselves to the urban space (since it has become a place for advertisement). For instance, in order to avoid so much marketing information we tend to protect us from the space among us. For sure the reasons for this "bubble" behavior are multiple and complex, but at the moment that more and more some cities start to argue about the quality of life in a city full of advertisements, such as Sao Paulo and New York, we can assume that advertisement directly impacts our quality of life and health as inhabitants of an specific urban context.

changing our relationships with people and places into more ephemeral bounds, or still redefining the limits and demanding deadlines for those relationships in order to control and avoid possible conflicts.

This is not different regarding publicity in urban space, a field in which different conflicts among wishes, benefits and even rejections have always been at stake. The very idea of consumption is a cultural entity that will vary from group to group, country to country and even from age to age. Some will be more adapted (for better or worse) to the huge amount of information in public spaces - like Tokyo -, and others will create movements of erasing publicity to illuminate the urban landscape - like Sao Paulo, Paris and New York. Is it possible to reach an urban scenery where publicity became so overcrowded that it loses its effect? We believe so, but we also believe that new arrangements that come into place after cleanances of the urban space [are](#) just a reordering to other forces of control.

Common street publicity, like billboards, has lost its importance to new forms of connecting the consumer to products and brands - through human interactions, performances in public spaces and other experiences that go beyond the product itself towards music, dance and arts. The way on which enterprises make money today and enhance their products crossed the line of simple advertising. What we observe today is the construction of a relationship between the “brand” and the inhabitant, in fact the “consumer”. In that case, urban space (not only public and private spaces, but also spaces of public domain) becomes a stage and a commodity for a variety of arrangements between inhabitants/consumers, companies/brands, ideologies and governments (local and supranational), in which the ideas and apprehensions of consumption will actually result in new forms of territorial control, urban practices and lifestyles that are representative of a new hegemonic way (logic and processes) of producing the city.

In these new arrangements, the public space (for the common will) is subject of a business negotiation by terms of contracts with pre-established deadlines that have two major characteristics: most of them are aligned to the period of changing governments (and their ideologies); many of them try to avoid major conflicts and disputes regarding permanent ownership (who actually owns the place?) and its legal norms.

In this logic, public spaces are generally seen by the government in terms of their costs of maintenance and not as potential spaces of social interaction, urban diversity, cultural creation and political struggles. These areas will also be considered part of a standard and thematic landscape defined and redefined by the desires of the market (mainly the real estate one) and its customer’s “taste”, molded and produced as an image of their ideologies, wishes and practices. Since these tastes will vary for each social and cultural group - aka target customer - the urban territory may be fragmented into many formats according, for instance, to different ideals of neighborhood and the “city” itself or typologies of private live (houses, buildings, co-livings, hotels) and of public live (cultural centres, parks and squares, streets, museums), practices and appropriations.

Based on these arguments, this paper seeks to understand how the forms of branding in urban space (which we commonly associate with soda pops, alcohol drinks, sneakers and other forms of conspicuous consumption) are more and more being absorbed by real estate companies and stakeholders -

particularly associated to the production of residential highrises. In this way, we analyze the increasing and sometimes obscure practice that these companies perform, in order to produce not only “homes” and “offices”, but also a “city” to their customers. Their marketing strategies always stated for the relationship between their product and its respective neighborhood (green areas, proximity to parks and transport stations, security, etc.). In order to strengthen and justify this speech, these companies will now dialogue with governments offering donations and accepting terms of cooperation (with or without branding) that will allow, in one hand, their qualification, and, in the other, the implementation of a new form of control.

Having the city of Sao Paulo as a case study, this article explores different arrangements between real estate and stakeholders and the municipal agencies, and how this reflects on specific ways of appropriation of the urban space, regarding housing production, the public space itself and its activities and practices.

Since Sao Paulo is a very dense and highly occupied metropolis, with areas of an urban pattern of private single houses -most of these areas not settled in areas of current transformation, most of the real estate investment is nowadays applied on vertical buildings (highrises), according to the local urban planning. Actually, São Paulo’s recent Master Plan (currently under revision once more) presents a variety of possibilities and actions to densify the city and increase the building potential in areas of centrality - with better mobility and access to public services. These changes will lead, most likely, not only to a transformation of the built urban tissue but also to a transformation on its perception and apprehension. In a way, a change on the inhabitants values to more sustainable ways of living that encompasses better public transportation, the increase of different alternatives to mobility – for instance, bicycle lanes systems - and shared spaces; and in another a reinforce of some fears and apprehensiveness on security and diversity.

In both cases, a sense of “community” is proposed, one in which the inhabitants of these buildings are also responsible for their neighborhoods - better saying, to their circle of social life regarding the urban space². What remains hazy is the direct relationship that real estate companies are carrying on and performing along these transformation processes. The increase value of the “urban”³ present in some of these companies’ speeches is actually nothing else than a strategy to attract customers. The confirmation of a present condition of urban *living* - specially in metropolises, where most of inhabitants’ time is spent on working, transportation and other activities (like studies, sports, cultural, consumption, etc.) - is publicized as a new *lifestyle*.

² This is a characteristic that seems to be arising not only in São Paulo, but worldly, urging people to act and appropriate the city according to new social practices. We observe, in the production of the urban space, an increasing appreciation on measures that embrace the local community - a way of sustaining the ideals of a common good. For instance: in the USA if we take the strand from "Do-It-Yourself" and neighbourhooding; in Europe, the "commoning", which also tries to enhance and empower local participation in the management and care of urban space in Spain, England, Ireland, etc. This is more culturally established in Japan, where in some particular situations private spaces are considered a common good – in that sense, a public space. In other ways, there may be a sense of a bad governance and the "own hands" movement. This may also lead to a sense of community (for bad or for good), present in Brazil and other underdeveloped countries with the participation of NGOs and international financing.

³ In some discourses the idea that people are spending much more time of their life “outside home” in metropolis like São Paulo.

Consequently, we observe a specific customer oriented market of smaller homes⁴ where dwellers should find most of their needs outside their homes – for instance, laundry, playing, studying, watching movies etc. - in collective private spaces where a certain shared “public life” takes place . The apartment would remain mostly as the space for bath, sleep and other private activities, while the common areas of the building or even shops on the ground floor would serve as a space for domestic work and leisure activities.

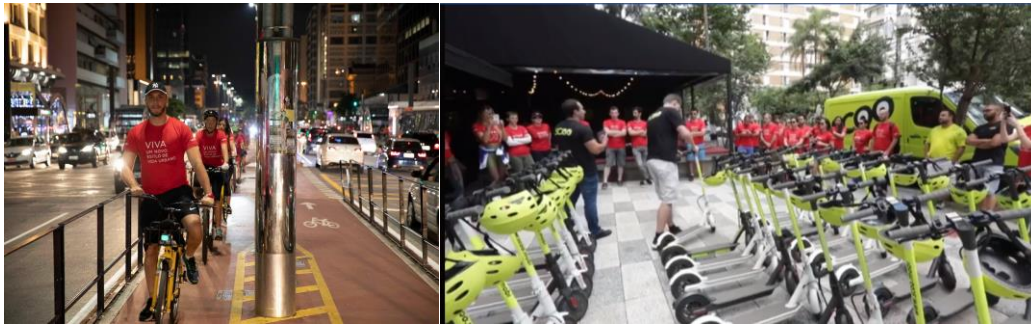
Therefore, it is not a surprise that some real state companies which operate in Sao Paulo will value the “urban space”, since their new typologies do not include spaces for daily routine activities (like cooking or laundry) or parking lots. In order to sustain that position, they will perform co-branding activities in the city, stimulating the appropriation of streets and the “neighborhood” by, for instance, the use of bike and car sharing. These real estate companies will also make partnerships with laundry brands, provide service spaces in the ground floor of their buildings, as well as cafes and restaurants. Our goal here is not to argue if this is a “better way” of producing cities or not, but to reinforce that the increase of advertising regarding these “sustainable” practices have a direct participation from real estate companies (as well as transportation ones) and are representative of a specific market niche.

In order to discuss this process, we analyzed the public space interventions performed by some real estate companies, as well as their terms of cooperation: Vitacon, Tegra/Brookfield, Cyrela and Tecnisa. These companies are not the only ones operating under this logic but their interventions are particularly relevant because territorially significant and characterized by recurrent operations, increase of production and singularity cases.

Vitacon is a real estate builder and developer held in Sao Paulo. One of the most famous real estate producers in Sao Paulo, it is related to new market-oriented typologies of housing (tiny and microhousing), specially in the late years. The company developed an image of selling and renting housing for young people and individuals that want to live in a central area, but could not pay for large apartments. Vitacon’s speech states that by producing smaller apartments in their property releases, the price per unit (not the price of square meter) can be reduced, therefore allowing more people to access housing in São Paulo’s areas of centrality. This housing “accessibility” discourse, very much aligned to contemporary critics on urban space production and planning, did not have the outcome they stand up for. What happened in practice was that the majority of these micro units firstly were sold not for people who would live there, but for investors who would rent them. This led into the opening of a new rental market for specific individuals with short cycles of permanence in the city, working in a mix model of hotel, home sharing (like Airbnb) and actual homes.

⁴ This process of “smaller homes” does not refer to a previous process of the reduction of apartment areas in São Paulo. There was a moment in the city where this reduction was not correlated to a demographic change, but in fact to the necessity of a “cheaper” product to the same customer – the area of a 3-bedroom apartment was reduced from around 120 square meters to 100 and later to 80 square meters. This process also allowed the real estate market to profit more from the same piece of land. At present moment, as a result of demographic and family formation changes and the lack of available land in central areas of the city, the “smalling” process is characterized by the offer of micro and tiny apartments, specially to young and single people. These releases in Sao Paulo follow the same period in which micro housings building were released in New York, generating more urban debate on how the “home” space has been transformed in order to supposedly provide an inclusive alternative in highly urbanized areas.

As a brand, Vitacon developed some marketing strategies, like: 1) creating their own company to rent their units, similar to AirBnB, available only in their website and selected platforms; 2) creating a owners/dwellers's "club" (VN Club) to promote events not only in their buildings - like cocktails, cinema days, yoga classes, etc. -, but also in public spaces - like bike and scooter rides, etc., mostly in partnership with other brands of sharing economy⁵ (Bradesco, Yellow, Scoo); 3) supporting public spaces through cooperation agreements to maintain and clean squares - chosen very carefully and close to their building -, in exchange for small advertising billboards (according to the norms of the "Clean City Law"; 4) supporting the creation of new built forms of "public space", like the first *parklets*, spaces that question the availability of public areas *versus* parking lots in São Paulo and are aligned to the company vision on urban space (less cars, more public transportation, more sharing, etc.).



Images 01 and 02 - Vitacon's events for member of VN Club (private group of Vitacon dwellers). At left photo, bikers wear a t-shirt with the writings "LIVE a new urban lifestyle", riding Yellow's bikes (rental bike company). At right photo, people learn how to use scooters (recently released in Sao Paulo) of the brand Scoo. Both rides took place at Paulista's Avenue. (Source: www.facebook.com/vitacon)

These events respect the market logic and processes and, therefore, will suffer from the floating of capital and changes in their target customers. Behaviors too. Hence, many of the public spaces objects of cooperation agreements have been abandoned after the contract period has finished (or even cancelled by the company), leaving only traces from the changes performed before. So, we question: How much this cooperation contracts can do for the city in terms of changing public spaces and enhancing a sense of common ownership? The city acts as a stage to the ideas, needs and discourses *that* a brand wants to perform for a while, but what does it receive in return? Once the property is sold, real state companies do not need to sustain that image at that location anymore, leaving the space open for another performance and choosing a more "profitable" place to invest their marketing ideas.

⁵ New and very present means of transportation in metropolis, like Los Angeles, Milan, etc. have already caused a lot of judicial fights regarding the use of mobile equipments by inexperienced people and the neglection on public urban space.



Images 03, 04, 05 and 06 - Praça Júlio da Conceição Neves, a square in Vila Olímpia's neighborhood, one of the main areas with Vitacon real estate developments. This square was adopted by Vitacon from 2014-2017 (top photos), when the company invested on its revitalization and the installation of bicycle tire pumps and racks. The square hosted bike events organized by Vitacon, which held a sales stand right next to the public space. After the stand's disassembly, the cooperation term ended. In 2018, the square was adopted by a marketing company (that serviced Vitacon and other real estate companies) for the 2018-2021 period. However, at the present moment (bottom photos), the square's state of conservation reflexes maintenance neglect, even though the cooperation term is still valid. (Source: images 03 & 04, www.revistabicicleta.com.br; 05 & 06, pictures of the authors, march 2019)

Another real estate company with a significant participation on adopting public areas in São Paulo is Tegra. Since 2017, Tegra is a subsidiary from Brookfield Brasil, a former Tramway, Light and Power Company, founded in 1899 that operated in Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro during the 20th century. Brookfield Brasil is also a subsidiary from Brookfield Asset Management, an international company with a focus on real estate developments, renewable power resources, infrastructure and private equity.

Tegra may be considered a new brand in comparison with other real estate companies operating in Sao Paulo. Present in different regions of the city, it focus on housing and mixed vertical buildings with a considerable variety of typologies (from medium to high class). Since the beginning of its operation, Tegra has adopted more than 10 public areas from the municipality, including a public stairway, squares and central plats, and required cooperation terms to the installation of two parklets. The notoriety of its presence is the proximity of the adopted/suggested public areas in relation to their property launches. Most of them are directly related to the building (literally in front of the real estate development), or in a radius smaller than 300 m.

For example, Vila Anastacio is a neighborhood in a former industrial area close to the Tiete River. This region is nowadays under transformation of its built environment and urban tissue, with new vertical condominium-clubs - an enclosed typology with huge recreational areas (swimming pools, sports facilities, party rooms, kiosks, kindergartens, etc.) and multiple residential blocks. Some of these real estate developments, like Caminhos da Lapa, are from Tegra and its partners, occupying a considerable percentage of the neighborhood's area. Nevertheless, Tegra adopted almost all the green areas of the region, a marketing strategy to unify the brand with the neighborhood itself.



Images 07, 08, 09 and 10 - At top, Praça Padre Arnaldo. At bottom, Praça Mataúna. Both squares are located at Vila Anastácio's, a neighborhood with important real estate developments (condominiums) from Tegra and where the company adopted the central plats at Fortunato Ferraz's Avenue (where Caminhos da Lapa is located). Source: pictures of the authors, march 2019.

This marketing logic leads us to question in which degree real estate companies are extending their political and economical participation in the urban space when territorializing their brand in public areas that were not part of their domain. Differently from other spaces adopted by Tegra -- in the central area or in others areas of centrality, with a variety of brands competing for attention -, in Vila Anastácio the company is almost the only presence, creating a really paradoxical situation: at the same time that they produce enclosures, targeted to a customer who is afraid of public space interaction, it uses the public space landscape as a mean of creating the idea of a preserved and “clean” neighborhood, and then, increase its sales.

Like Vitacon, Tegra did not renew the cooperation agreement of their previous adopted areas. In this specific case, there is a direct relation between the date of the buildings' launch and the adoption of the area. The public staircase called “Praça Recanto do Palhaço Sputnik”, in the central neighborhood of Consolação, is one of these cases. Brookfield released two residential buildings close to the date the staircase was adopted, in 2015. The contract was valid only for a year - a shorter period, compared to the majority of the terms. Other squares still maintained by the company, like Praça Ayrton Senna do Brasil and Jornalista Débora Rebocho are located in front of new real estate developments under construction. Both terms were signed close to the date of their launches (2017 and 2018, respectively).⁶

⁶ Tegra has also requested terms of cooperation for two parklets in Pinheiros/Cerqueira César neighborhoods. The location of these parklets are close to recent real estate developments under construction, but the CNPJ (National Register of Legal Entities) which requested the cooperation has not yet been attached to any specific property release. Tegra's CNPJ subsidiaries vary on the municipality's database to each development, registered under the name “TGSP” and the number of the release (TGSP-38: Gabell Jardins, in front of Debora Rebocho's Square. The location from the parklets may infer a possible new area of the company's operation even before the official launch (TGSP-58, still unknown), a possible indicator for future researches.



Image 11 - Praça Jornalista Débora Rebocho. At right, Tegra's real estate development, identified by its building sidings. The square was adopted by the company in 2018, a few months before the property's launch. This cooperation term will last 24 months (until late 2020), a period calculated to last only until the delivery of the units to its customers. (Source: pictures of the authors, march 2019)

Another interesting point in the recent history of the relationships between real estate companies and stakeholders, the municipality and public spaces may refer to the donation of security cameras to the municipal secretaries of urban development and urban security (SMDU and SMSU). Donation terms are common when private companies manage and maintain public spaces in Sao Paulo. The companies need to sign donation terms when they promote changes, supposedly “upgrades”, to the spaces, such as urban furniture and art works.

Through a deeper analysis of the municipality's registers, Tegra appears as a donor of 87 security cameras in the value of around two hundred thousand reais (R\$200.000⁷) in 2018. Cyrela is another stakeholder which also donated cameras to the municipality, 65 security cameras, approximately R\$150.000⁸, in 2017. Cyrela is another example of real state companies that adopt public spaces close, or right next, to its property releases (for instance, Emílio Pasetti's Square and Aureliano Leite's Square). Even though there is no register on where these cameras were used, once it is the municipality who is responsible to define their location, it seems proper to infer that have been used on the surveillance of public spaces, particularly the ones adopted by those companies.

⁷ Donation term: 004/SMSU/2019. Process number: 6011.2017/00000907-5. Date signed: 30th May 2018. Value: R\$199.999,98 / US\$ 53.763,35 (exchange date for the signature date). For more access:

https://www.prefeitura.sp.gov.br/cidade/secretarias/upload/seguranca_urbana/arquivos/termodoacao0042018.pdf

⁸ Donation term: 019/SMSU/2019. Process number: 6011.2017/00000900-9. Date signed: 1st December 2017. Value: R\$149.999,80 / US\$ 46.012,21 (exchange date for the signature date). For more access:

https://www.prefeitura.sp.gov.br/cidade/secretarias/upload/seguranca_urbana/arquivos/termodocao0192017cyrela.pdf

This donation term is assigned to a “Public Call Notice”, but it is important to elucidate that the Public Call was opened only after the proposal of donation. If the company offers something to the municipality (services or products) by a private intention, the municipality needs to publish formally and with public access, asking if there is anyone else who also interested in the same bid, terms and period. This procedure works for both donation and cooperation terms. Therefore, there is no previous indication that the municipality wanted the cameras or about the location where they should be installed.

The presence of security cameras in public space opens up a new debate on which type of city and public space is being stimulated by these companies. As quoted before, Tegra is one of the companies that builds “enclosed” real estate developments (a niche also operated by Cyrela, in São Paulo), promoting an urban spatiality criticized by architects and urbanists worldwide, related to a profile of gentrification, social inequality and exclusion, as well as the fragmentation of urban territory (condominium-clubs, self-exclusion neoliberal urban ghettos). Usually these urban enclaves preach for a safe city, a city of controlled public spaces, that present the condominium as a solution. Here, once more, we observe facts that reinforce the paradox private/public spaces’ investments already quoted before.

A very famous real estate development in São Paulo, called Jardim das Perdizes, is part of these paradoxical and complex process of producing the city through investments on public (or spaces of public domain) and private spaces simultaneously. Jardim das Perdizes is a large property release located in an area of an Urban Operation (Água Branca) - a portion of the city’s territory with specific urban plans and parameters for constructions, with more building potential and financial investments. During its approval, this development suffered a series of modifications and municipality demands, which resulted in a portion of its territory as a public park for the common people - the Jardim das Perdizes’s Park⁹.

This park is currently adopted by an Association of Residents (AMO), which also took care of some adjacent areas, like central plots and roundabouts. The park is fenced and only operates in strict time periods (from 6am to 6pm) with guidances and rules about what users are allowed to do and what not. The park (and the other areas) has surveillance cameras on its surroundings, security guards and a monitoring programs which can detect the number of the car plates which circulate on the area.



Images 12 and 13 - Parque Jardim das Perdizes. The park is surrounded by highrise residential towers that belong to the same real estate development that gave birth to the public space. It has many regulations that forbids some practices, like commerce (focused on informal one), barbecues (a common practice in parks), music (performed or reproduced), promotional activities (which includes political manifestation) and other common means of free appropriation. The Association of Residents (right photo) is the organization responsible for the maintenance and surveillance of the park and its surroundings. Since publicity is forbidden inside the park, the billboards are installed only outside its fences. At the present moment, the Association submitted a donation term to build a “pet space” in one of the adjacent areas, since inside the park it is also forbidden to leave the animals without a leash. (Source: pictures of the authors, march 2019)

⁹ Jardim das Perdizes real estate has 250.000,00sqm, 28 highrise residential towers with luxury apartments from 80 to 283sqm, a mixed use complex (with service and commercial areas) and a park of 44.000,00sqm.

Even though the area is officially considered public, the practices allowed imply a highly controlled space, in one hand with very limited possibilities for the unexpected, and in the other promoting a really explicit sense of “privatization”. In TripAdvisor’s website¹⁰ - a tourism website where users can post their evaluations of places and spaces -, many guests refers to the park as a “private space”, “full of security” and different from other spaces of the city. They also speak about the relationship between the park and the residential towers on the surroundings, suggesting that the park is a good place for the dwellers but not so much for the city. We suggest that this “neighborhood” is actually a space of domain of the Association of Residents, a private condominium as exposed on the marketing boards in the adjacent green areas of the park.

Through a deeper investigation on municipality’s registers we found out that the Association is actually registered under a different address in the noble region of Pinheiros. All cooperation terms were signed by Fábio Villas Boas, Construction General Manager and Executive Director of real estate developer and stakeholder Tecnisa – the company responsible for Jardim das Perdizes, also an ex-partner of Gafisa¹¹.

This information leads us to another important point on this discussion about cooperation terms and the participation of real estate companies in the urban space São Paulo: the fact that many of these agreements are hazy, in order to disguise the actual intentions and interests of the companies in this type of public dominance. The way on which the developers hide themselves behind a symbol of “community” may suggest an appropriation not only from the public space itself, but also from new ideologies which defend local city care, a sense of neighborhood and placemaking.

We can conclude from these examples that the legislations that enable private-public management and maintenance of public spaces in the city opens up to new dominance arrangements from real estate developers and stakeholders. The current public policy that provides these terms of cooperation and accept donations does not debate the actual problem of creating a more inclusive city, operating as an economic and financial policy instead of an urban one. Generally speaking, not only in the cases of the companies mentioned in this article, the public spaces supported by real state companies are subject to the variance of capital and market flows, as well as to some private interests of the agents (companies) which sell a product, apartments in these areas). The unique counterpart included in the policies - the marketing of the brands - not necessarily is the only private presence in the adopted territories. Sometimes the brand is hidden behind other entities in order to avoid some conflicts of interests and facilitate the territorialization of some ideas of “public space”.

*** This article addresses questions and preliminary results of researches under development. One, the binational research project entitled “High-Rise Living and the Inclusive City”, financed by the Foundation for Research Support of the State of São Paulo (FAPESP, Process 2016/50278-3) and the French National Research Agency (ANR). The other, Máira C. Daitx's doctoral research “Amid Times of the City: Space-Time Conflicts and Processes of Absorption”, also with financial support from the FAPESP (Process 2017/10218-4).*

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¹¹ Their partnership started in 2016 and ended in January 2019.

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